1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
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with food consumption. There is no wife in the village who does not pursue this type of activity, as it is great disgrace not to be able to let blood flow even from a chicken if a guest comes to visit her husband, or at least provide her husband or children with a 'meat dish' on festival occasions. She should also raise goats and sheep, so that in case of death in the house an 'agira'—slain animal—can be always available at the funeral.

Between husband and wife no levity of behaviour is permissible, and no obvious physical intimacy of any sort in public or in front of the children. In fact, the husband's contacts with the house are very few. It is quite common to find a child who has been asked by his mother to call father from a meeting outside saying, 'O father, they say come and speak'. This is usually a call indicating that food is ready but neither the word food nor the word mother are ever supposed to be uttered in public. The father normally quits the house immediately he finishes his meal.

During the first year of marriage the wife does not eat with her husband, partly because he is in the matrilocal residence, and partly because the wife has not yet become the mother of the children. Only then can she eat with him, but she should never confess that she has eaten before he has, for her eating afterwards is the proper procedure.

From the standpoint of sentiment, the in-law relationship is a strong and binding force, involving exchange of gifts, food and visits similar in many ways to the kinship (lineage) obligations. It is said that the wife's mother is normally very affectionate, and always fussing over her son-in-law, especially when he is in his matrilocal residence, and this attitude is usually a source of complaint and jealousy on the part of the brothers and sisters of the bride. Yet the husband's mother is traditionally harsh, difficult and fault-finding. My informant, Ali, explains the difference of the sentiment of the two mothers-in-law by saying: 'The wife's mother is all too glad to procure a husband for her daughter, and she is grateful to him for marrying her daughter; thus she favours him. The husband's mother is resentful of the fact that her son's attachment, which was solely hers before marriage, is shared with his wife.'

It is also significant that the wife never refers to, or addresses her husband by his first name, especially in public. She either refers to him as 'Son of so and so' (his father), or 'my man', or less commonly 'my husband'. She addresses him by saying 'O man'; and the same applies to her husband who refers to his wife as 'my woman' or 'people of the house' and addresses her by saying 'O girl'.[1]

[1] Concerning the absence of any demonstration of tender feeling between wife and husband, Westermarck writes, 'It is considered indecent of a man to show any affection for his wife, and it would consequently be improper to speak of it in proverbs'. He further maintains that such an absence does not mean that no such feeling exists but has to be understood in relation to the Moorish ideas of decency. *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, London, 1930, p. 52.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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FOLK LIFE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE

It is not without significance that in ceremonies of circumcision and marriage, the boy and the man have to visit the mosque in a ceremonial way where dates and food are distributed. In praise of marriage, a villager would quote the Prophet's saying, 'He who marries has perfected half his religious requirements, and he has only to fear God in the other half'. It is also worth stating that the majority of the personal names of both sexes have some religious meaning or are the names of some religious personalities.

The importance of sacredness not only permeates those levels, justifying acts and deeds, but also reaches the substance of living, namely, foodstuffs and bread, usually referred to as the 'sustenance of Islam' and which are considered to be sacred. A good harvest is a sign of God's approval; a torrent of rain which destroys the villagers' crops is a sign of His disapproval. To impart holiness to the land before sowing, or to the harvest before threshing, a sacrifice of an animal and the partaking of a communal meal are desirable acts. According to the enlightened religious view, the villagers do not distinguish between pagan and the proper Islamic concepts. The village schoolmaster said that the belief in the power of saints, sorcery, and magic, and the appeal to divination and ritual for healing the sick as practised in the village, are complexly interwoven with Islamic beliefs, but they are not in fact a part of the pure Faith.[1] It is believed that sickness might be inflicted by a saint for not fulfilling a vow taken in his name, or for not offering him his due customary gift and sacrifice. A great deal of treatment of disease and of acquiring of good luck could be achieved by prayers, sacred charms, and propitiation of saints. The strength of the religious force could be also ascertained from the fact that the most binding guarantee for a promise is to swear by the name of Allah or to read the Fatiha. It is also customary for the villagers to take an oath sacrifice for God or a saint, which is a kind of conditional oath involving the slaying of an animal on the fulfilment of a certain task and the attendant danger that may ensue in the event of perjury

The certainty and uniformity in religious beliefs and rituals specially noted in the observance of the fasting month, is an index of the religious group cohesiveness. All the villagers belong to the Maliki school of the Sunni tradition. Most of the adult villagers attend the Friday noon prayers, and say their regular daily prayers either at home or in the mosque. There is a well-known Islamic tradition believed by the villagers that group prayers are more efficacious and rewarding than those said alone.

It is no exaggeration to say that the folk culture of the village is permeated by religious sanctions and moral values derived from the Islamic traditions as revealed in the Koran and also infused with rituals and beliefs of an older tradition. It is not difficult to assert that there is hardly

[1] See John Walker, *Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt*, London, 1934. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, London, 1930.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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553 782 acquiring new things, e.g. building a new house, reaping new harvest, obtaining new land. Though there is no formal ceremony in Artas (Palestine) for the naming of the child, Hilma Granqvist refers to the notion of 'the flowing of the blood' in the same way as believed in Silwa, the purpose being that life redeems life.[1]

782 At other major events of an individual's life, like circumcision, marriage, pilgrimage, completion of memorizing the Koran, the blood must flow to bring about blessing (baraka).

553 However, at the end of the meal, the oldest member present, or a religious man, asks what the child's name is, and on being told, such a name would be praised by the meeting. The reading of the 'Fatiha' [788] (similar to the Lord's Prayer) would end the ceremony with prayers for the child's long and happy life.

The name is usually chosen by the parents, and with the first child, the name of the grandfather for a boy, or grandmother for a girl, is frequently decided upon. Granqvist has discussed at great length the significance and implications in choice of names, and it is felt unnecessary to dwell therefore on these points here.[2] In this connection, it is reported as a prophetic 551 tradition that 'the best names are those which are similar to the Prophet's names or indicate the subservience to God'. The whole range of names could be classified into four categories: (1) those similar to the Prophet's names, reported to be thirty-three in number, e.g. Mohammad, Mahmoud, Kamil, Mustafa, Ahmad, Taha, Yaseen; those related to his family either male or female; names of the Well-Guided Caliphs. Examples of names of females connected with the Prophet are: Amina (Prophet's mother), Halima (wet-nurse), Aisha, Khadiga (wives). (2) Names indicating 'Servant of God', and this lends itself to ninety-nine names which are the attributes of God, e.g. Abd-el Rahman (Servant of the Compassionate), Abd-el Rahim (Servant of the Merciful), Abd-el Wahhab (Servant of the Giver). (3) Names of other prophets, e.g. Ibrahim (Abraham), Musa (Moses), Isa (Jesus), Solaiman (Solomon). (4) Modern names, usually an [369] imitation of the city names, which do not belong to any of the previous categories: Muhsin, Fouad, Nawal, Sabah.

On the whole, the name is usually connected with some meaning or fathering a wish. The writer was told about a certain man in the village whose children used to die during the first year because it was alleged they had attractive names; as a safeguard against this he decided to call his future children by unusual names, e.g. Malaz (pot), Shwal (sack), so that they would not be envied, and thus survive. He appears, according to my informant, to have succeeded thereby in raising children.

553 In contrast with those in Artas in Palestine (the Arab village studied by Granqvist), the names in Silwa are never changed after the ceremony, and it would be considered a great disgrace to do so. This difference is probably

[1] Hilma Granqvist, *Child Problems among the Arabs*, p. 131.
[2] Ibid., pp. 1–50.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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865 593 Moreover, it was significant that when my informant declared that the rivalry was an essential incentive in the process of growing up, she added that it would enable the child to stand up to its rivals on becoming an adult. The use of sibling rivalry could also be related to the brothers' avoidance of each other, especially in formal gatherings, and also to the cultural expectation of brothers' friction and wranglings which are quite frequent amongst adults in the village.[1]

Certain families in the village try to provoke sibling rivalry, if it is not manifested strongly between children, by giving the older sibling a nickname, 'A ram which drinks from the water, left after baking'—meaning that he is good for nothing, while calling the younger sibling a camel—being a useful animal, and thus motivating the former to conform to what is expected from a boy of his age. In one of the families, Hassan, who is four years old, and Taha, who is two years old, are two brothers; one called 'Hassan al-dalihi'—the stupid one, while Taha is labelled 'al-nasih'—the clever. This nicknaming was due, according to their mother, to the fact that Hassan was seldom as alert as other boys of his age, and this nickname was supposed to shake him up. The writer noticed that Hassan was always asked to do things with reference to his younger brother. His mother would say: 'Eat this before Taha takes it', and this was accompanied by a movement towards Taha as if she was going to give him the food. Sometimes she would say: 'Take it, or I will give it to Taha', even if the latter were not present. In another house, the mother asked Fatima, the naughty girl, who was reluctant to comb her hair, to come to her before Sakina, the good girl, did so. Fatima was still disobedient, and so the mother started combing Sakina's hair, and immediately Fatima dashed towards her mother and lowered her head for combing. The normal procedure in giving nicknames is to call the younger child with a self-deprecating word, to appease [551] the older one, which is compatible with the hierarchical structure of the family. Reversing this order, by giving a good name to the younger, is only resorted to for the purpose of fostering the desired amount of sibling rivalry indispensable in the villagers' views for healthy development. To experience rivalry with a sibling or cousin is regarded as making the child grow to be a 'hot' man, in contrast to one who is 'blunt'—who is not easily moved or provoked. It is also noticed that a visitor, on meeting a child of the house, usually asks him the hackneyed question: 'Who is better, you or your brother?' One is justified in considering the emphasis on sibling [867] rivalry as a cultural means of motivating the child to abandon his babyish attitudes and behave according to his age.

It is worth mentioning that the motivation of rivalry connected with the presence, actual or potential, of another person, is one of the strong incen- [626] tives for appropriate behaviour, which combines social conformity with a high-pressure ego development.

[1] M. Fortes remarks that among the Tallensi, open recognition of sibling rivalry prevents it from turning into a disruptive element in the relations of siblings. *The Web of Kinship*, footnote, p. 235.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954

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THE AIMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION IN SILWA

861 Besides learning from their parents and elders, children also learn through their association with slightly older boys and girls (by three or four years but certainly not more than five or six years) who usually assume the role of leadership or teachers in work or play. As in Tale society, every pupil becomes, in some situation, a teacher for others.

It must be noted, however, that the behaviour pattern and motivation in the learning situation where adults are involved are different from those of the age-group learning situation. In the former, subservience, respect, and fear are expected, while in the latter rivalry and reciprocity on equal terms are the norms. If the child does not come up to adult expectation, it is because 'it deliberately twists its neck which should be straightened by a slap'. Discipline and compulsion are the means for enforcing conformity and 'adab' on children by their elders. On the other hand, amongst the age groups, mocking, ridiculing, and scoffing at those who do not reach the expected level of maturity are the pressures exerted by their peers. In this connection, nicknames are frequently used by children to [55] single out the ones who are laggards in their social maturity, partly a continuation of the sibling rivalry pattern of motivation.

The two following examples indicate some of the ways in which boys deal with each other. A boy of fifteen who did not appear weak found it rather difficult for some time to fill the panniers of his camel with fertilizer, and other boys had to help him. Failing to perform the task expected from boys of his age, his fellows decided to put a girl's headcloth round his head-cap, by taking off his turban. Then he was tied to the panniers and the other boys led the half-laden camel to the field. This method, occasionally resorted to by such boys, is supposed to awaken the sense of shame in those who are not sufficiently keen on doing what is expected of them. The other example is that of a fight of a boy of about ten [89] years old with other boys because he 'broke wind' while they were playing. When asked, he denied the fact, and they went on smelling each other. When they discovered that he was the culprit, they started building him a grave in which they buried a stone as a symbol for the boy, shouting 'the farter is here, the farter is here'. They also bewailed him as adults would bewail a deceased person, by saying, 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his Prophet'. Indeed, lack of control and modesty after the age of ten can be a source of ridicule for children about this age.

857 Moreover, if restraint and docility are the keynotes of child behaviour towards adults, a free and impulsive life reigns amongst children themselves. Their own problems must be kept to themselves and not communicated whenever possible to their adults, who are not expected to enquire about children's activities. For children, it is gossip that a child would go and tell his parents what other boys and girls have been saying or doing. If two boys or more start quarrelling with each other, they should fight the issue out for themselves. The laying of complaints by children before [866] their elders about quarrels with other children is greatly discouraged, and when complaints are taken up by fussy parents, they might keep the whole

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to be specialists in transmitting to others the religious knowledge of the Holy Book and the pious ancestors. The oral means of communicating and committing to memory the accumulated experiences is the best guide for perpetuating the group's tradition. It is not surprising, then, that old people are considered as knowing more than the young, and that, on these grounds, they are worthy of respect and obedience. The young have to wait many years before they can wield the same prestige and authority, for the instruments of wisdom may only be acquired through the passage of time. It is not unusual to hear people who wish to assert their position or to impress others with their views saying: 'I am a man who has witnessed both the pre-Islamic (jahiliya) and Islamic eras.'[1]

Good memory is certainly a great asset and indeed highly valued in Silwa, and the person with a good memory is usually described as the one with 'the full head'. The ability to remember names, places, events, and genealogies enhances the person's popularity and makes his participation and consultation desirable in social activities. The emphasis on memory training is impressed on the child as early as its efforts to learn to talk. Mothers utter a few words for the child to repeat, and then ask it to go round to all those who may be present, and say these words to each in turn, and this is recognized as the best method for the teaching of language. One of the favourite amusements of adults with children is to test the latter in reciting the names of their families in genealogical order. Very frequently, however, the adults may purposely interject incorrect names to mislead the children. Some children between the age of three and four, on being asked by the writer to recite their family names, would tell him as many as four or five of their names (the first name, followed by the father's name, the grandfather's, the great-grandfather's and so on).[2] In a symbolical way, the mother encourages the child to eat pigeon's head, as it is believed that this will foster the child's alertness of memory in later years of life.

It would be very difficult to determine here to what extent the importance laid on memory and memorization has been the product of the Islamic view of learning. It should be mentioned, however, in this connection that knowledge, for the Moslem scholars, was not so much a reaching out to the unknown (research), as it was a mechanical process of amassing the 'known'; the known being eternal and given, is unchangeable. Thus the acquisition of information and the deduction from accepted premises were the most important methods of knowledge.[3] A learned man

[1] This is, of course, an artificial claim such as the English expression, 'I don't know him from Adam'. The historical sense amongst the villagers, especially the older generation, is mainly thought of in the partition between the two eras, the pre-Islamic and the Islamic.

[2] It must be pointed out that in Silwa, or for that matter in Egypt as a whole, there is no system of first names and surnames. In Silwa, every person is always called by his first name. Unfamiliarity or respect requires only the addition of the title 'sheikh' in front of the first name.

[3] H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, pp. 64–6.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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17.

×539 821 [551] "Rain, pour it out", that is, all the water which you can give, so that all the vessels in the house will overflow, even to the coffee-cups. Both personal names ('Abdulle and 'Abd-el-'âl) are taken, of course, only to rhyme with the names of the vessels. It is certainly mere accident, that the name 'Abdalla appears also in a similar rain-song of Dalman's (P. 175; from Aleppo).

Ya naṭaret 'Abdulle,
ṣubbīha wimla-l-'ulle.
Ya naṭaret 'Abd-el-'âl,
ṣubbīha wimla-l-fingāl.

O Rain of 'Abdulle,
Pour it out and fill the water-bottle!
O Rain of 'Abd-el-'āl,
Pour it out and fill the cup.

[415] 2. 'ulle are the water-bottles, of porous, unglazed clay, in which the drinking-water is kept fresh.

4. Fingāl (fingān) are the little coffee-cups without handles, which are placed in little stands (zarf) resembling egg-cups.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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55.

Arrogance.

×539 I am a much-traveled, important man. Compared with
578 me, what a pitiful fellow you are!

Ruzz is, properly speaking, the name of the Mamalukes, whom Mohammed 'Ali exterminated. For Maḥmûd it merely designated the "soldiers who came from Stambul". Sport is here made of the soldiers. In No. 56 we find the opposite case.

[114] According to F. Kern, it is a sailor-song. Lines 1 and 3 are sung by the leader; line 2, and a fourth lacking here, are sung by the others.

Mikke biladi, wel-ḥabaš manzali
we-ummak tebī' er-ruzz, ya Nōfali.
Er-ruzz akl el-ṛuzz, ya Nōfali.

Mecca is my home-land and I live in Abyssinia.
[And thou?] Thy mother sells rice, Nōfali.
Rice is soldiers' food, Nōfali!

●[551] 2. Nōfali is a man's name.

[262] 3. That rice once formed or now forms the principal element of the soldier's food is new to me. The word ruzz (rice) is probably used only because of its resemblance to ṛuzz (Mamaluke).

59.

×539

Good Reason for Pride!

Dināre libiset mandīl
u-mkallafâ sittīn.
Ya 'aši', ya meskīn,
ṭarraḥūk 'al-ḫašab!

Dināre has put on a head-kerchief,
Which has cost her all of sixty (faḍḍa).
Now, poor lover,
Have thyself buried!

● [551] 1. Dināre is a girl's name.

[435] 4. Literally: Mayest thou be stretched upon the wood (the bier). The girl is so proud of her cheap finery. Sixty (faḍḍa) are about one and a half piastres, equalling seven and a half cents.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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63.

Good Wishes.

x539 858 A little girl is addressed, who, according to Maḥmûd, is still so small, that she is compared with "goslings which are still green (aḫḍar)". Compare No. 64. Fortune shall so favor the little one, that she shall some day eat with a golden spoon from a silver dish.

Alla ye'ēnik, ya uzēzet Ragab;
wiṭ-ṭišṭê faḍḍa, wil-ma'ali' dahab.

Allah help thee, O Ragab's gosling!
[415] May thy dish be of silver, the spoons of gold!

● [551] 1. According to Maḥmûd, Ragab is the name of the child's father.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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69.

Why Dost Thou Beat me, Mother?

539x
861

Bil-amān, ya-lummĕ,
wa-la tuḍrub aiye!
Lē tuḍrubni
wana-smi Lēle?
Rumman ṣudri ṭāb
u-ṭaraḥ eg-genēne.
Ana maʿak ʿand el-ʾaḍi
fi-haza-l-lēle.

Do not punish me, mother,
And do not beat me!
Why dost thou beat me
When my name is Lēle ("night")?
The pomegranates of my breast are ripe, [826]
And the garden beareth fruit.
I shall go with thee to the judge
This very evening.

4. The word lēle, "night", and Lēle, the name of a girl, have nothing to do with one another. They were originally two different words, which, in the modern language, have the same sound and for that reason are made use of here for a pun. [192] [551]

The girl means: "Is it not perfectly natural, that I should think of things which my very name suggests?"

7. He will concede that I am right! The ʾāḍi (Qâdi) or ecclesiastical judge, is called upon to decide especially in affairs of marriage. [693]

To the End of the World!

99.

×539 Shamme is a girl's name.

●[551]

Ya Šamme, ḥali, ya Šamme,
ya-msauwaḥani, ya Šamme,
ya-mgauwi'āni, ya Šamme,
ya-m'aṭṭašāni, ya Šamme,
ḥali, ya Šamme!
Larāḥ eš-šām 'ala šān Šamme!

O Shamme, what has become of me, Shamme,
Whom thou lettest restlessly wander about, Shamme,
Whom thou lettest hunger, Shamme,
Whom thou lettest thirst, Shamme,
What has become of me, Shamme!
Verily, I would go to Syria for the sake of Shamme!

[804] 6. I would go to the end of the world for her sake! Syria is often used for a long distance. Compare No. 100.

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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it, and lets the sweet fluid trickle from his consecrated mouth into that of the child, and "gives him the name out of his mouth." This is accordingly a kind of baptism. It is well known that among the Moslim, as among the native Christians, and till lately among the Jews of the West, only personal (and not family) names are used even in public life. For distinction the personal name of one's father is joined to one's own name, as Mohammed Soliman, that is, Mohammed, son of Soliman. Many have of course a surname, but it is generally personal, as for instance, the Bald, the One-eyed, the Falcon, and so forth, and only in rare cases is retained as a family name. In recent times the desire of acquiring a family name is showing itself, especially among government officials. This custom has of course the advantage that it leaves no room for pride of noble or patrician descent. Only the descendants of the prophets, the *sherifs*, of whom there are millions, pride themselves on their birth, and generally marry only among themselves. Still more the Bedouin, who is said to be able to repeat his pedigree in personal names alone up to Abraham and Adam, like the genealogies in the Bible, and who knows the pedigree of his horse equally well.

On the fortieth day after childbirth the mother goes with the child to the bath, and gets forty dishfuls of water poured over her head if her offspring is a boy, and thirty-nine if it is a girl. The child also is now bathed for the first time, and mother and child are now clean and purified.

CEREMONIES PRELIMINARY TO FAMILY FESTIVALS.

The more important family festivals, as a circumcision or a marriage, are often preceded by a whole round of preliminary ceremonies that last for weeks, or even months, and take place every evening. The master of the house prides himself in giving a feast that will be long spoken of. Every evening he gathers together his friends in his hospitable dwelling, and provides for them amusements and entertainments of every form and kind. At present chess, draughts, dominoes, and other games are played, but not for money, or at most for a